

saying the \$20 million of foreign aid—one of the largest foreign aid packages I have ever seen—the \$20 billion of foreign aid that is brand new would be overseen by the State Department. We want to make sure that the Iraqis do not feel this is a long-term military operation.

People should know, my amendment doesn't stop the President from allocating and reallocating reconstruction funds to any agency, including Defense, but State would have oversight of that. It doesn't shut down the Coalition Provisional Authority. It doesn't require big changes there.

Mr. WARNER. Would the Senator be more explicit?

Mr. LEAHY. As I have said before, I am glad Ambassador Bremer is there. It doesn't micromanage the reconstruction effort. It doesn't create a disruption of any of the programs that are there. But it does say when we want to ask how these aid programs and reconstruction programs are going, we ask the questions of our State Department, the Department that has had this responsibility and expertise, and the Department that has always done this from the days of the Marshall plan on.

My friends keep saying, this is just like the Marshall plan. Well, there are some big differences. One, the Marshall plan didn't ask us to pick up the whole tab as this does. That was a dollar-for-dollar match. Some of it was in loans. It wasn't done immediately after the war. It took many hearings, hundreds of witnesses. And then working with the President, there was a congressional oversight committee that actually had input from both parties, both Republicans and Democrats, unlike the situation here with the 8 page plan that we were given two months later.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, if the Senator would enable me to bring to the attention of the Senate a communication at this point in time from the Department of State, it might be helpful. As I read the amendment, it is clear to me that Bremer would now report to the Secretary of State.

Mr. LEAHY. That is true.

Mr. WARNER. There is no provision that he continues a direct chain to the Secretary of Defense. That structure, from Bremer right on down through his organization, would now be reporting to the Secretary of State. Am I correct in that?

Mr. LEAHY. Yes, but it does not shut down or require changes in the central command. It doesn't require any military to report to the Secretary of State.

Mr. WARNER. The Senator has made that eminently clear. I think right now we are looking at the coalition operation under Bremer now being transferred in its entirety and reporting to the Secretary of State. That organization, under Bremer at the present time, composes, indeed, contributions of a number of personnel from the Departments of State and Defense. It is sort of a coalition within itself of our Fed-

eral departments and agencies. Our coalition partners, primarily Great Britain, are integral participants.

How would they feel if suddenly they awakened and determined that no longer does their deputy to Bremer from Great Britain report to the Secretary of State? This is a very significant and major change that our distinguished colleague is proposing.

In response, the Department of State, through its Assistant Secretary of Legislative Affairs, addressed our colleagues in the Senate by saying the following:

Thank you for the opportunity to comment on Senator Leahy's proposed amendment to the FY 2004 Supplemental that would transfer control of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) from the Department of Defense to the Department of State. While we appreciate Senator LEAHY's confidence in the State Department, we are opposed to the amendment.

That is very clear and unequivocal.

The decision to establish control of Iraq's reconstruction through the Department of Defense was made because military operations were and are ongoing in Iraq. The immediate objective was to establish a secure and safe environment in Iraq. Restoring basic services and creating conditions for economic growth could not take place until this environment was established.

For unity of effort and command, it was judged—and this judgment was from the President on down—

the Department of Defense would be the most appropriate department in which to place CPA. The State Department fully expects to resume control of traditional development efforts in Iraq once the security situation is fully stabilized and an elected government is in place.

Thank you again for the opportunity to comment on Senator Leahy's amendment. We will be pleased to provide any additional information you might require.

I ask unanimous consent that this letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRMAN MCCONNELL: Thank you for the opportunity to comment on Senator Leahy's proposed amendment to the FY 2004 Supplemental that would transfer control of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) from the Department of Defense to the Department of State. While we appreciate Senator Leahy's confidence in the State Department, we are opposed to the amendment.

The decision to establish control of Iraq's reconstruction through the Department of Defense was made because military operations were and are ongoing in Iraq. The immediate objective was to establish a secure and safe environment in Iraq. Restoring basic services and creating conditions for economic growth could not take place until this environment was established.

For unity of effort and command, it was judged the Department of Defense would be the most appropriate department in which to place the CPA. The State Department fully expects to resume control of traditional development efforts in Iraq once the security situation is fully stabilized and an elected government is in place.

Thank you again for the opportunity to comment on Senator Leahy's amendment.

We will be pleased to provide any additional information you might require.

Sincerely,

PAUL V. KELLY,
Assistant Secretary,
Legislative Affairs.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I also see what the National Security Adviser said, and I quote:

The President must remember that the military is a special instrument. It is lethal, and it is meant to be. It is not a civilian police force. It is not a political referee. And it is most certainly not designed to build a civilian society.

Dr. Rice said that.

The Washington Post reports that the diplomats on Ambassador Bremer's staff in Baghdad report directly to him, not to Washington, which is true. The Secretary of State, Colin Powell, has told the press he has to rely on newspapers and the diplomatic reports of other nations to keep abreast of developments in Iraq. Maybe they don't like the job, but that is what the State Department is designed to do. I have had times when somebody said I had to sit in this hearing for 4 hours because I was either chairman or ranking member of the committee, and I said, I don't want to, I would rather go to Vermont, or I would rather go hunting on my farm, or do other things. But you know what? It is my job, it is a job I was elected to do, and I have done it.

I am sorry if the State Department feels they don't need to do their job. Maybe they have too many people. Maybe we are spending money we don't need to there. I mean, this is what they do in Afghanistan. This is the role they have played in every post-war situation since the Marshall plan.

I ask, what is so different about Iraq? Suddenly, we are breaking 50 years of precedent and they don't want to do what they are supposed to do. I am worried, why don't they want to do their job? Are they concerned that they could not do it better than it is being done now? I would hope they could, or else we are spending an awful lot of money at the State Department that we don't need to spend.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, in response to my colleague, the Marshall plan is, in clear terms, a precedent for what the policy decisions of our country are, as embraced in the request for this \$21 billion and in the future. But there is a clear distinction. The Marshall plan came in years after the fighting had stopped. As you and I are now in this colloquy on the floor of the Senate, that fighting is going on right now—hundreds of thousands of coalition forces—over a hundred thousand—and many civilians are subjected to the constant threat by this polyglot of former Baathists, former associates of Saddam Hussein, terrorists are moving in.

This is a tough situation and there is daily communication between Ambassador Bremer and the military. They have worked side by side. In fact, you visited there, as I have. Their offices are just across the hall from one another.